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nationalities. The Darwinian-jingo argument may be summed up in the two propositions that: The best fighters are the best men, and the best fighters survive and multiply under imperialist rule. Both of these propositions, together with their various corollaries, Mr. Hobson argues, are baseless in logic and unsupported by facts. The argument on "Imperialism and the Lower Races" runs to the effect that, while imperialism damages and deteriorates the conquering nation, it is probably even more disastrous to the lower races brought under imperialist rule. In support of this thesis there is offered a wide-ranging and impressive array of facts.

"The book is addressed to the intelligence of the minority . . . who desire to understand political forces." The argument might have a wider effect and might even serve to mitigate the imperialist shove if imperialism rested on rational grounds. But since, as Mr. Hobson fully recognizes, the motive force of imperialism is a militant sentimentality guided by the business interests of a small class, no such appeal to the common-sense of the community can seriously affect the outcome or even gain a wide hearing. V.

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*The New Empire.* By BROOKS ADAMS. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902. 12mo, pp. xxxvi + 243.

PURSUING a line of argument already worked out in his *Law of Civilization and Decay*, Mr. Adams offers an explanation, a theory it may be called, of the rise and decline of successive "empires" from the dawn of history to the present. The objective point of the argument is to account for the present, or imminent, supremacy of America as an imperial power. This supremacy has, in Mr. Adams's mind, all the certainty of an accomplished fact. While it takes the form of a political supremacy, its substantial ground is the commercial leadership of the new imperial organization; the reason for commercial leadership being, in its turn, the possession of superior material resources, particularly mineral resources, together with the convergence of trade routes upon the territory in which the seat of empire lies.

Mr. Adams's explanation of the growth of imperial power, in all ages, is altogether a geographical one. From the beginning trade routes have determined where accumulations of wealth would occur, and they have thereby determined where the greater masses of population would congregate and so where the seat of political power would be found. Whereas, trade routes have largely been determined by the

*provenance* of the minerals most useful or most sought after at the time. Within historical times this means the metals—the precious metals primarily, and secondarily that one of the useful metals which has for the time chiefly served the industrial arts. Today it is steel and coal. In the early times, before navigation developed, the trade routes lay overland, chiefly between the east and the west of Asia; and where these overland routes converged the ancient cities and the ancient monarchies grew up—as Egypt, Babylonia, or Persia—and power shifted from the one to the other as the path of commerce shifted. Later, when great improvements in navigation had taken place, the sea routes gradually supplanted the land routes, and the question of empire became a question of the convergence of the routes of maritime commerce. Today these routes cross and blend within the domain of the United States, and radiate from this as a center, at the same time that this domain contains the largest, most valuable, and most available supply of the mineral wealth upon which the fortunes of commerce ultimately hang. Mr. Adams also finds that in some way, mysterious so far as his discussion goes, energy springs up where the trade routes cross, and slackens abruptly when the routes depart. So that now, for some half-a-dozen years past, America holds over all competitors in point of energetic and sagacious administration.

Cogent as Mr. Adams's presentation of the case is, it has an air of one sidedness, in that it neglects other than geographical factors; and even within the range of geographical factors it places the emphasis almost exclusively on the circumstances which condition commerce, as contrasted with other economic factors. It may be noted, for instance, that the element of race is left out; whereas it would not be a hopeless task to construct an equally plausible theory of the facts considered by Mr. Adams on grounds of race alone. It may also be noted that so striking a case as that of China does not come within the explanation offered. China has all the mineral resources on which Mr. Adams throws emphasis; her territory lies also at the meeting of the overland and the maritime routes of the East; the Chinese people have from time immemorial been highly skilled and diligent workmen; but, great as China has been, she has never taken the leadership except locally; the industrial revolution did not come through Chinese initiative; the development of navigation and the expansion of modern commerce are not due to Chinese enterprise and ingenuity, although the material circumstances have, on Mr. Adams's theory, for some thousands of years apparently favored the rise of China to the position of an all-dominating world-power.